M is because I do not see how the present rulers of Prance and England can afford to make Peace at is any such Peace as they can reasonably and or even Austria would propose. And If they will not accede to Austria's bases of Peace, it were abourd to imagine that Austria will in their interest plunge into a war which must to her be a struggle for life.

Since, then, the patriotism of Louis Napoleon and his friend Palmerston is not popularly supposed to patterned after that of the Roman Cartius, I conclude that we are not to have peace this Summer, and I infer that the Allied commanders, fully conscious that they cannot new invest Sevastopol, and cannot take it without, are about to raise the siege (for the alterin tive of dividing their to . I the face of so strong and netire an enc., i not to be "e line and en-

ere, ... their ranks by assuming the often in the open field. They can do this with an army, in good part veteran, numbering not less than 125,000 effectives, supported by a powerful fleet after leaving a force sufficient to blockade the harbor of Sevastopol, while their innumerable transports will convey not only food but guns and munitions and baggage to any point of the coast nearest to the designated field of operations. Since the necessity of such a demonstration is apparent, there is no reason why the Russian army should not await them in a strong position at or near Sympheropol, where their superiority in cavalry and perhaps in field artillery may be improved to the utmost. To Russia, a decided defeat in such a conflict must be disastrous: to the Allies, with their four independent commanders, the sea at their backs, and their siege artillery and munitions to be protected, it can be little less than ruin. Whatever its issue, I believe a great battle must be fought in the Crimes before the end of June. And should the Allies be signally beaten, there are thrones which weeks may suffice to topple over.

For dear Bread and ragged Finances are now chronic complaints throughout this Old World. We have grouns over the enormous cost of living even from far-off Constantinople; Italy is admitted by the Conservative oracles to be in a state of permanent and general though smothered rebellion, whereof the feud between Church and State in Sardinia and the recent unopposed proclamation at Rocco di Papa (Papal States) are but indications. Mark the following from the Imperial Journal de Debats of yes-

terday:

"The revolutionary spirit appears to be aroused in Italy. An unusual agitation has been observed in several important cities which coincides with the appearance of the agents of secret societies. Some of these agents have been arrested, papers of consequence have been seized, and it is said the proofs of a vast conspiracy have been found, which had for object the breaking out of an insurrection in the central States. Enough is known to show that danger exists; not sufficient to prevent it. What has passed within eight days at Recca di Papa is an index of the situation. Many circumstances have contributed to reanimate the effervescence of the Italian populations. The cause of the withdrawal of the Austrian troops from Mowithdrawal of the Aus his forces so as to be able to dispatch them upon any points, and with more vigor, which should be men-

Consider with this the progress of the smouldering insurrection in Spain, where Monarchy has come to be understood as a device for enormously nriching the Royal Family and its favorites while the Nation is a cypher, the Treasury is inveterately empty and the public creditors defrauded of their just dues. Through sheer impotence and depravity Royalty is fast sinking into open bankruptcy in preëminently loyal Spain, and will not pay sixpence in the pound. The hopeless ruin of the finances of Austria has been fully set forth in THE TRIBUNE. France this year borrows and spends One Hundred Million Dollars over and above her income, and will try to raise another loan before the year is out unless the War is stopped meantime. England of Dollars, increas her taxes, and threatens to come again. Such threats seldom remain unfulfilled. How rapid and signal is the decay of the Aristocratic prestige which has so long served her rulers instead of a great Standing Army and a fettered Press, I leave to be set forth by correspondents permanently in that country. I think no intelligent observer regards the further government of Great Britain by such machinery as has hitherto sufficed even a possibility. Further North, in Denmark, we see the High Court of Justice about to proceed to the trial on impeachment of the late Ministry, which is in fact a trial of the King on that charge-a trial at least of the vital principle of Monarchy. Thus from every side come indications that "old things are passing away," and that, in spite of spies, and gags, and dungeons, and bayonets innumerable, there dawns upon the mind of Europe a clearer recognition, a profounder appreciation, of the inalienable Rights of Man. Years yet may be required to render it a living, pervading actuality; yet I feel confident that, out of Russia, the sway of Prætorian Emperors and miscreant Bombas must every day grow feebler until it passes away forever. IL G.

## THE STATE OF EUROPE.

From Our Own Corresp LONDON, Friday, May 25, 1855. While Austria has sent a new proposition to London and Paris, it is stated in the best-informed circles that the English Ministry is diwided in respect to the question of peace and war, Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell and the Duke of Argyle, together with Sir William Molesworth and Mr. Vernon Smith being ready to sign a treaty of peace at any price. A few days will probably suffice to show the precise facts, since there are some persons who do not believe in Lord Palmerston's warlike spirit, and treat the split in the Cabinet as a prearranged scene for the benefit of Lord Palmerston's reputation. The English Attaché of the Embassy at Constantinople, Mr. William Doria, has lately been in Moldavia and describes the outrages of the Austrian army of occupation most graphically. According to his statement the Austrian armythose celebrated Croat battalions-are an undisciplined rabble commanded by officers who dare not reprimand them. The outrages in Wallachia have been reported to London by the English Consul-General, Mr. Colquboun. And still England caresses this power which is not able to keep its soldiers in decent order. As to France, Napoleon seems to delight in bullying and flattering the Court of Vienna alternately. When the Pollsh aristocratic and military refugees, represented by Prince Czartoryski and Gen. Rybinski, pre-ented their address to the Emperor after the ansuccessful attempt of

could not do for Poland what I wished to have done. But to-day, by the course matters are "taking, I am induced to hope that I shall be enabled to be useful to you in presecuting the work of him whose heir I am." The Austrian papers took great offense at these words, and reminded the Poles that Napoleon I said once, "I can make use of the Poles, but not of Po-"land." The funds declined at the Vienna Exchange, and people asked whether Napoleon III n mentioning Poland did not mean Hungary and Italy. But suddenly the ill-temper was dispersed at Court; the first dispatch of Count Walewski was so flattering to Austria that the impression gained ground it was the Poles and not the Austrians who are to be cheated by the French Emperor.

Napoleon is reconstructing his Ministry. Mr. Fortoul, the Socialist and Communist of 1848-49, is to be dismissed from his post as Minister of Public Worship and Instruction, and his place has been offered to Cardinal Matthieu, Bishop of Besancon. The Cardinal declined the ministry - in the interests of the Roman Catholic Catholic Church, as he said. He felt keenly that France of Napoleon III was not the France of Louis XIII or XIV, and that the days of Richelieu and Mazarin cannot return any more than the Monarchy by the grace of God. The Vicomte de la Guéronnière, the well-known pelitical weathercock of the Presse and Pays, is likely to succeed Fortoul, and the Ministry is altogether to be composed of the family of the Emperor - Morny, his illegitimate brother : Walewski, his illegitimate cousin-and of adventurers entirely devoted to his person, as for instance Persigny and La Guéronnière.

The infant son of the King of Sardinia has died, and the King is seriously alarmed by the successive death of his mother, wife, brother and son within one year, while the ultramontant priesthood point to his afflictions as a punishment of God for the secularization of the Church property. He is said to contemplate a marriage with the Princess Mary of Cambridge. According to other rumors he intends to visit the camp in the Crimes, and to take part in the campaign.

Berlin correspondents most seriously aver that the Courts of Austria and Prussia have come to a perfect understanding about their policy of neutrality, which has always been openly avowed by the King of Prussia, while the Emperor of Austria had to feign good-will for England and France until he got into the Danubian Principalities. A secret dispatch of Count Buol to Count Esterbazy is often alluded to as containing a complete and for the Prussian Court most satisfactory explanation of the motives of Austria and her conduct, while giving full security to Prussia that Austria will not depart from the line of strict neutrality. All Germany is soon to accede to the same policy, and to insist upon the most perfect neutrality as regards the belligerent Powers. The opportunity for such a declaration will be found at the renewal on the Austrian proposition at Frankfort for the mobilization of the contingents of the Germanic

I learn from an influential member of Parliament that the speedy resignation of Lord Raglan is expected by the Government. The difficulty is only to find a successor more energetic

As soon as the extraordinary levy of recruits in the Western seventeen provinces of Russia is terminated, Poland and Finland will be ordered to furnish another extraordinary levy. The fortresses of the Baltic have been considerably strengthened during the last Winter, and the allied fleet has scarcely any chance for

The right, or rather the duty of defending the country in the regular army, extended by the Sultan by his Christian subjects, is likely to roduce a social revolution in Turkey. The measure is not popular with the Christian clergy, who are the real chiefs of the Christian population. Prof. Newman very ably remarks: In the Turkish Empire and eastward there "has been no reformation in the Christian "Churches, because the rulers, being Mussul-"mans, excluded the Christians from high posts of State, and treated them as a lower caste. The Christians had no other nationality than that of the Church to rally to, and in fact threw themselves on to the Church as "their sole defense against the hostile State." As soon as military officers rise among the Bulgarians and Rumeliotes the priests will lose their present controlling influence, and a kind of nobility will naturally be formed and obtain rank in the democratic society of the Christians of the South-east, which have hitherto been exclusively ruled and represented by bishops and priests. Whether a sense of patriotism now entirely unknown to the Christian subjects of the Porte may arise from the altered condition, remains to be seen. Hitherto they have only known the brotherhood of the Church, and in some parts of the country a kind of clannish allegiance to their traditional leaders. The Roman Catholic Bosniak or the Mirdite of the Albanese mountains has always treated the Greek Catholic Bulgarian and Moldavian as an enemy even during the present war, and Omer Pasha has had to dismiss the corps of Albanese Bashi-Bazouks, who had distinguished themselves at Silistria, because they could not be taught to respect the Greek churches and priests, whom they outraged as secret allies of the Russians, they themselves being Roman Catholic. It is a great mistake to believe that the Christians have until now been entirely excluded from the defense of the Turkish Empire; they have been excluded only from the regular army. The navy and the flotills of the Dannbe has contained many Christians, and the contingents of the Saporagh Cossacks, and the Albanese Mirdite Bashi-Bazouks are altogether

Next week I shall probably have to communicate matters of greater importance. According to the goesip of the well-informed circles a new proposition has been concected by Prussia and communicated to Austria-Francis Joseph immediately agreed to father it, and sent it un ter his paternity to Paris and London, where it was favorably received. Still under the present circumstances peace cannot be concluded without dishoner, as long as the army has not defeated the Russians in the Crimes. Accordingly orders have been sent to Gen. Pelissier for some immediste coup as glorious as possible. All the reserve from Maslak has embarked to cooperate with the active army, and if victory can be Pianori-the Democrate under Wysockl and gained within a week of fortnight the Prusso-

Mircelswaki did not take a part in the demon- | Austrian proposition will be accepted at London stration-Nepelcon said to them "Till now I | and Paris. Whether the Czar will be ready to accept it likewise after a defeat, remains to be seen. Besides, the battle is not yet won, and the chances, though favorable to the Allies, may suddenly turn against them, as they did before Sevastopol, which is now in a far better state of defense than it was either in September or even at the time of the first bombardment in Octo-

Drouyn de l'Huys's disgrace is explained in the following way: After the last proposition of the Allies, supported by Austria, was rejected by Prince Gorchakoff without a Russian counter proposition, the French Embassador should have closed the Conferences and nailed Austria down to the stipulations of the treaty of the 2d of December. Instead of seizing this opportunity for forcing Austria into a closer alliance with France, he accepted a new proposition from Count Buol, and by accepting it he acknowledged the right of Austria to seek for new and equally illusory propositions, and to evade the obligations of the December treaty under the pretext that all the efforts for pacification had not yet been exhausted. Drouyn was duped by Count Buol, and Napoleon, who cannot boast of any victory in the field, dismissed the Minister who was caught in the trap of diplomacy and defeated by an Austrian Minister.

The young Prince Czartoryski was presented at Court on the Queen's birthday-a fact which sufficiently shows that the humbug of a Polish expedition is still to be kept up by the policy of the Allies. Four or five Indian Princes. Rajahs and Khans, were likewise present at the drawingroom; the increased facilities of intercourse with the East induce them to come to London and to see the results of European civilization. Whether those visits will have any influence upon the mind of the Easteners remains to be seen. The ruler of Kabool, Dost Mohammed, has signed a treaty of amity with the English which cannot but be beneficial to the safety of British India. The East India Company is expending large sums on roads, canals, railroads, bridges and telegraphs, and the next ten years cannot but very materially advance the welfare of India and the income of the company. They seem to be in earnest with their improvements.

Miss Nightingale, the heroine and pride of England, is seriously ill.

In Denmark the impeached ministers will have their trial in a few days.

## AFFAIRS IN FRANCE.

From Our Own Correspondent.
PARIS, Thursday, May 24, 1855.

You will have learned before receipt of this letter, of Canrobert's resignation of the chief command of the Eastern Army and of Pelissier's appointment in his stead. The resignation is interpreted by some as a dismission, and certainly does smack a little of that quality. If it is to be considered a dismission, it is at least an honorable one. The retiring chief is offered a higher grade of command under his successor than he asked for, and is elevated another degree in the order of the Legion of Honor. On his side, health impaired by the labers of the last campaign, depressing doubts of the final success of the siege, an oppressive sense of the responsibility resting on him, objections to the plan of the new campaign, advised by the Minister of War and the Emperor, are the supposed motives of his retreat; on the side of Gov ernment, beside the correlatives of these motives ernment, beside the correlatives of these motives this other is hypothetically added, imperial disapproval of the expedition toward Kertch. The "improvement" of these hypotheses in print and conversation is verbose, copious and profitless, as usual. I let it pass with this brief note of record. There are in The London Standard two amusing positive and the conversation of the conference o litical squibs, a pretended dispatch from Lord Rag-an, followed by a report to that General from Lieut. Gen. Sir George Brown. You would think that their satirical character was marked with a clearness evident to the dullest intelligence; and yet these specimens of English humor were translated and published last Tuesday in the leading Think of the Journal des Débats, which prides it-Think of the Journal are Decats, which prides itself on able treatment of foreign affairs, and of the official Moniteur, innocently publishing, as Lord Raglan's, a dispatch relative to that sailing party called the Expedition of Kertch, which begins in

this wise:
"My Lord, I have the honor of informing you that the English expeditionary troops are returned to day safe and sound after having performed an extremel-dangerous service of the highest importance without the less of a single man on our side or on that of the

public, so far as the public troubles itself about the matter, seems well content with the ap-pointment of l'elissier to the chief command of the forces in the East. He is Canrobert's senior in rank, having been made General of Division in April, 1850, a grade which his predecessor in the chief command attained after services per-formed in the time of the coup d'état. Like most of the other noted French generals of the day be is of the African school. He was long ago a favorite of Marshal Bugrand, and at one period ad interim Governor of Algeria. "Constant read"ers" of The Tribune will remember the doubtful fame he earned there in June, 1845, by burning and suffocating some hundreds, men, women and children of the Ouled Rhiu tribe in the caves of Dahara. There was a great outery of horror raised at the time by civilized Christians the world over, to the " credit of humanity," as the outcriers thought. And yet I have not heard a murmur of horror over Lord Lansdowne's statement (which is correct) that 247,000 Russians have died because of this Eastern war since its commence Odd, that 247 roasted or smoked Arabs should appeal so much more strongly to the sympathies than 247,000 starved, frozen, stabbed, shot or otherwise killed Russians. If Gen. Pelissier should blow up Sevastopol to-morrow and send every mortal within its walls to the other world, it would be matter of infinite jubilee and solemn Te Deum in the two most civilized countries of

Anxious minded persons who cannot wait for events to come on in their order utter tangled prophecies as to the Summer campaign—telling one day that the troops about Constantinople are to be sent up to Bessarabia to perform that "version" with which the Emperor of the French amused the gens d'armes months ago: telling you another day that they are to be sent into the Crimea, etc. The talk of raising the standard of Crimea, etc. The talk of raising the standard of Polish and Hungarian nationalities, or even the standard of European liberalism, which had for its text the Polish addresses to the Emperor published two weeks ago in the Monitar, is dying away. None but imaginative persons ever supposed that the publication of the addresses was much more than Euncombe for Austria. However, it is not the inconsistency of the act nor lack of boldness that would prevent Napoleon from putting himself at the head of Ecvolutionary Europe if pushed to the wall. Meantime we have another ultimatum preposed by Austria and under consideration by the Western Powers. It is likely enough to be accepted with the control of the co cepted and offered to Russia, in which case the Vi-cepted and offered to Russia, in which case the Vi-enness Conferences may be soon reopened. With all this possibility of peace, in Russia as in France, the utmost efforts are strained in preparations for defense and offense. In Russia there is a new par-tial levy—it is the thirteenth of the sort—of twelve men on the thousand inhabitants; here preparations are making for an increase of the num the National Guard - a significant operation if comoleted, which would leave free for expeditions to Germany or the Crimea a part of the army now

employed at home as preventive police, and which withal would bring the nation nearer to a balance with its master. PALAIS DE L'INDUSTRIE.

Certain persons, disappointed in not finding the Universal Exposition to be what they had anticipated, conclude that the fault is not in their anticipation but in it, and say that it is a failure. Now, as a mercantile speculation there is danger for the Company that built the Palace that it will be a failure. Its shares have fallen at the Bourse ince the opening. On the part of the management there was a great, gress, inexcusable and almost nexplicable failure in calculation. The Exhibition was to be in order on the 1st of May. It will not be before the middle of June. The ceremony of opening, at first adjourned for a fortnight and performed to an account of open boxes beggarly in comparison with those that were still nailed fast. a failure. But this merely proves that the French managers, with the experience of London, Dublis, New-York and Munich to help them, are not so good calculators in business matters, despite their national reputation for method and skill in management and administration, as English managers without experience for a guide." Meantime there is already exposed in the Palace what might satisfy a robust curiosity through several days' examination. One who decided ten days after a basty glance, that the Exhibition was a failure, would already find an admirable accumulation of reasons for revising his crude judgment. Those who seek in the Palace only the splendors of an enormous toy-shop, should adjourn their visit to next month. , should adjourn their visit to next month, them it might be a failure. The building itself is also, to some extent, a failure in architect ural respects. The glass roofing does not bar-monize with the stone walls, which are heavy without being imposing, and not agreeably relieved by the long rows of windows. Your little Palace in New-York was much more elegant, and for a But these "fickle" French, sacrificing show to use have built this Palace for a permanent object—for "fickle" French, sacrificing show to use, their regularly recurring national fairs. Considered as a silent but eloquent Congress of the representatives of industrial production, the French Exhibition is anything but a failure. An Englishman, whose connection with the World's Fair at Lenden and with this one at Paris gives some weight to his authority, informs me that in the French department—as might be supposed—the latter is superior, and in the English department is equal to the former. The failure, if anywhere, is most striking just at present in the American (U. S. A.) department, which exhibits little else than the Star Spangled Banner wav-ing over unoccupied space, and a staff of Commissioners defending it. Far be it from me to say a word against our Commissioners. If I were in search of a quarrel it should be with some less numerous party. It would not be a fair fight even for Capt. Davis. It is not for an American to speak evil of the glorious defenders of his country's flag; there is I believe a Com missioner to every star and a supplement for the stripes. To be serious, their abundance is rather laughable; to be just, it is no fault of theirs; many of them are doing such duties as they have to perform earnestly and without recompense; to be courteous, let me thank their very competent and hard-working Pres-ident, Mr. Field, for his zealous interference in ident, Mr. Field, for his zealous interference in procuring tickets of admission for the editors and correspondents of American papers. The articles which will soon be exhibited in the American Department are few in number, but sufficiently creditable to the country in other respects. Prince ires with interest if we have not some wonderworking reaping machine (our crowning glory at London) on the way hither. The practical chief of the French Committee of

Management, Gen. Morin, received or gave his dis-mission day before yesterday. A competent man for the post so far at acquirements went, but so sadly lacking in amiable moral endowments that there was hardly a subordinate with whom he came in contact that did not cordially dislike him. I mentioned some while ago that prices of admission to the Industrial Exhibition and to that of the Fine Arts would be fixed on Sundays, after the 15th of June, at four sous. French people com-plained of this, saying there should be one day of free admission, as there is for the Louvre and other Museums. But the Commercial Company being Museums. But the Commercial Company being partner with Government in the present case would not yield their right of making a little money out of the poor, and of excluding the poorest by what seems to English and American notions the triffing tax of four sous. To-day it is an-nounced in the Moniteur that the doors will be nounced in the Moniteur that the doors will be opened freely on Sunday, the Emperor paying the Company from his privy purse for the privilege to the public. The numerous readers of Galigaani's Guide [those who really do "read French as flu-"ently as English" Hachettei Guide de Paris much superior] know that by French law all places of public amusement pay a certain per centage of their receipts for the maintenance of hospitals and other public charities. The Administration of Public Aid at Paris found on the strength of this law a claim upon the Crystal Palace Company for the usual per centage on their receipts. The question will come before the Courts for decision. During the Summer Prince Napoleon gives a series of grand receptions. whose especial purpose is to do the hospitable honors to the dignitaries of the industrial and other worlds brought to Paris on occasion of the Expo-Princess Mathilde will act as lady of the These receptions will serve our traveling Potiphars as substitute for presentation to the Emperor, who does not receive at the Tuileries in sometimes gives a ball at St. Cloud, our good na-tured diplomatic agent, Mr. Piatt, keeps his office open through the season, and will be always ready to perform its duties in favor of applicants for tickets to the utmost of his ability. A series of midnight balls—a sort of parallel course to that pursued in the Palais Royal—are to be given weekly at the Jardin d'Hirer, under the auspices of Musard and Cellarius. Their character for chasteness and elegance is guaranteed by the price of admission—ten francs demanded indifferently from female and male guests. Apropos of balls and soirces—though not apropos of such—I must give a word to Mesers. Fowler and Preterre, two killful American dentists, likely to rival (in every thing but rate of fees) our other countryman, Evans, who "inaugurate" their elegant establishment on the Boulevards des Italiens by a soirce this evening, which has been a topic of American talk here for the past two weeks. Several Amer-ican ladies have taken the lucky dogs (they are bachelors) under their protection for the nonce, and will secure to the ball the grace and charm that customarily preside in their own hospitable

Two Egyptian Princes are come to Paris to see the Fair. The King of Portugal is on his way hither. Cæsar Augustus (or is it Augustus Cæ-Dodge arrived some days ago. His advent did not make a sensation. He stays at the Hotel Liverpool, Place Vendome, though by metaphori-cal and diplomatic subterfuge he resides near the Court of Madrid. Cæsar Augustus's friends will e glad to learn that he is in safe hands-would could say as much of our relations with Spain !- to wit, those of Black George. Black George, as I think your readers have been informed on a previous occasion, is a colored gen-tleman, who came over to France as attache to King, and has been more or less in diplomatic service ever since. Understanding French and his own business, and being of pleasant manners and engaging address, he has been a most useful guide, counselor and friend to many of our Ministers during what might be called their diplomatic nonage. It is hardly necessary to add, after mention of his familiarity with the French tongue and foreign customs, that George has no recognised position in our diplomatic service. More is the pity. I had hoped, in common with some other of my country-men, that Mr. Perkins would make a place tor him in his new bill—a roving commission as attaché in ordinary to any Extraordinary Envoy to Europe for six weeks after landing-as Charge d'Affaires in partibus, or something of that sort. Although George's decided taste is for courts and chancelleries, material motives may some day lead him to

"I say nothing here of the Exposition des Beaux Arts, or the plendid triumphe of cotemporaneous European Art.

take permanent office in the domestic line. Such contingency should be guarded against in the interest of our diplomatic corps. Suppose it to have already occurred in the present instance: Where would Dodge be (Cæsar Augustus)?

THE GREAT DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT. On the 24th of May Mr. Disraeli's motion, which we printed yesterday, was made in the House of Commons. It was a declaration of want of confidence in the Government, and had it been adopted must have been followed by the immmediate resignation of the Palmerston Ministry. The following is a summary of

Mr. Disraeli began by stating the reasons why he

Air. Disrael began by stating the reasons proposed this resolution. Having watched, he said, the conduct of the Government respecting the great question of peace or war, and especially during the Conferences at Vienna, he had imbibed an opinion with regard to their intentions which filled him with great distrust. He thought the language of the Government was their conduct uncertain; but criment ambiguous and their conduct uncertain; but it was impossible for him, although entertaining these opinions, to ask the judgment of the House so long as opinions, to ask the judgment of the House so long as the negotiations continued. At length the protocols of the Conferences were laid upon the table, and he anticipated that the Ministers, following precedent, would have taken the earliest opportunity to ask the opinion of Parliament, and state to the House what was the policy they intended to pursue. But he had been disappointed; he might say that the country had been disappointed. It would have been more satisfactory if, at the conclusion of the negotiations, the First Minister had come forward and fairly avowed the views of the Administraand fairly avewed the views of the Administra-tion; but nothing of this kind was done. After the notice of Mr. Gioson's motion, which, it was expected, would have extracted some declaration from the Gov-ernment, and the withdrawal of which had banked eriment, and the withdrawal of which had bauked the expectations not merely of this country, but of Europe, he had felt it to be his duty to give notice of this resolution, which was limited to the issue ex-persed in it. If it involved a vote of censure or a want of confidence, this had arisen from the peculiar circumstances of the hour—the motion being a per-fectly loyal and legitimate one. Having explained the feetly loyal and legitimate one. Having explained the reasons of the motion, he proceeded to state the purpose of it. He wanted the House, he said, to declare that their views were not changed nor their spirit dennted; and that they were ready to carry on the war until its great object was secured by an honorable peace; he wished to obtain from the House of Commons a clear and precise opinion upon this point, and if possible from her Majesty's Government. He commenced his criticism of the conduct of the Administration at what he termed that "glorious epoch," the iestalization of Lord John Russell as our Plenipotentiary at Vienna, in whose conduct, he obthe installation of Lord Palmerston at its head, and the appointment of Lord John Russell as our Plenipotentiary at Vienna, in whose conduct, he observed, much had occurred which had given occasion to suspicion, distrust, and dissatisfaction in the country. That noble lord, he remarked, had been previously, unquestionably, an advocate of war, and of a war upon a great scale; he had addressed to that House inflammatory harangues, and lashed on the passions of the people; but if he (Mr. Disraeli) could show that the noble lord was totally incompetent for the office he undertook, and that his conduct at the Conference had probably led to consequences which might be most prejudicial to the public weal, it was his duty to bring this subject before the House and the country. Mr. Disraeli then entered upon a critical review of the negotiations, insisting that the position in which the question stood arose from the diplomatic proceedings in which Lord John Russell was a chief actor, especially with reference to the Taird Point or Article. After foolishly admitting that the preservation of the hence of Russia was an ersontial element in the conditions of peace. Lord John Russell, he said, brought forward a most hundilating proposition, supporting it by a most ushappy example; and, after this fatal admission and this dangerous illustration, having committed every blander which a negotiator could fall into, he had placed the possibility of peace by negotiation almost out of the question, the put it to the Government therefore whether there was to be peace or war I upon what conditions they wished for peace, or in what spirit they were going to carry on the war? He wanted some explicit declaration upon these points war! upon what conditions they wished for peace, or in what spirit they were going to carry on the war! He wanted some explicit declaration upon these points and as to what was our present condition. Was another proposition expected! Had it been made, and if so, what was its character? Lord Palmerston had said he would not be forced into the disclosure of confidential communications; but that was no reason why he should take a course that must lead either to an ignorminious peace or to a lingering, fruitreason why he should take a course that must lead either to an ignomimous peace or to a lingering, fruit-less and inglorious war, for war could not be carried on successfully with a morbid state of negotiations, which must depress the spirit not only of this nation but of foreign powers. After embarking in a war which he had understood was to be protective, we had suddenly changed its character, engaging at the same time in diplematic transactions combining aggressive war with a diplomatic policy, and it was to this union he attributed our present difficulties. He wanted the House of Commons that night, therefore, to put an ne attributed our present difficulties. He wanted the House of Commons that night, therefore, to put an end to this fatal system, the time for negotiation having passed. Further forbearance and silence would be on the part of that House a virtual abnegation of its functions. metions.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Barrow.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Barrow.

Sir F. Barring moved an amendment, "that this House having seen with regret that the Conferences of Vienna have not led to a termination of hostilities, feels it to be a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and hororable peace." He could not, he said, meet the tig in all motion with a direct negative, since it would e liable to misconstruction. Adverting to the charges instruction. Adverting to the charges brought by Mr. Disraeli against the Government, he denied that there had been any unfair concealment or any ambiguous language on their part. Was it prudent or politic, he asked, was it just to our allies from day to day to expose all their confidential communica-tions? He thought the Government had given all the information they fairly could. Mr. Disraeli, he remarked, had adopted the anusual course of taking this opportunity to stitch the character of a party struggle to the desire to support her Majesty in this war, and he had avowed his object to be to put an end war, and he had avowed his object to be to put an end to all negotiations. Was the House, when the Gov-ernment declared the negotiations still going forward, to shu! the door on peace, interfering with the prerog-ative of the Crown and with the wishes and interests

Mr. Gladstone, after alluding to the various motions made or medicated, observed that he had no difficulty in determining which he should prefer. It was impos-sible, he said to vote with Mr. Disreali; he felt that sible, he said, to vote with Mr. Disreali; he felt that the negotiations according to the latest accounts had offered an admirable opportunity of bringing probably to a close the horrors of war. As respected the amendment of Sir F. Baring it labored, in his opinion, without justification, under the charge of ambiguity, and its aspect was rather warlike than pacific. He objected also to an amendment of which notice had been given by Mr. Lowe, but he supported most cordially the amendment suggested by Sir W. Heathcote, which expressed in the mildest and most prudent terms the opinion of the House that the opportunity for negotiation should not be lost. A war just in its origin would be unjust if prosecuted after its object had been obtained. The only question unsettled at the Conference was that which respected the prependerance of Russia in the Black Sea. The Allies had proposed a certain method of putting an end to that prependerance and Eussia Black Sea. The Allies had proposed a certain method of putting an end to that prependerance and Russia another, and that being unsatisfactory she proposed a second, and this was the question properly before the House. After dwelling upon the insidious encrosedments of Russia under her treaties with the Porte, and the quasi rights she wrongfully asserted under the treaty of Kainardji, Mr. Gladstone stated the objects originally contemplated in the war, and contended that every one of those objects had completely vanished from view. Having read the demands of the Allied Powers and the answer of the Emperor of Russia in the beginning of 1754, and contrasted them with the terms to which Russia had since consented at Vienna, he asked whether it could be justly said that the objects of the war were unattained? After the war the objects were enlarged and finally merged into the jects of the war were unattained? After the war the objects were enlarged and finally merged into the Four Points, not merely limiting and restraining the treaty rights of Russin, but abolishing them altogether. These Four Points were, in August, 1854, absolutely rejected by Russia, but in December the Emperor promised his unreserved acceptance of terms which four months before he had contemptuously refused. The only one of these articles not now settled was the third, and the difference proper not upon its principle but upon the mode of temptionally retused. In third, and the difference not now settled was the third, and the difference arose not upon its principle but upon the mode of its application, so that the quarrel was merely as to the mode of constraing a moiety of the Third Point. The queston of the Black Sea he observed was surrounded with difficulties, and the choice was to be made between several plans of limitation, all being open to objections and imperfect arrangements. The more he looked at the question of limitation the more apparent was its enormous difficulty and the indignity it would offer to Russia, and no policy could be more dengerous than that of inflicting indignould be more dengerous than that of inflicting indignous than the property of the discount of the control of the the indignity it would offer to Russia, and no poncy could be more dengcrous than that of inflicting indignity upon her without reducing her power. He discussed the proposition of Russia, observing that her plenipotentiaries insisted with some reason that a plan of limitation would better accord with an aggressive collection on her part than the discretional power she of policy on her part than the discretional power she of fered to Turkey. Russia had receded from her pro-tenses; she had gone far to put herself in the right, and in war as well as in peace the great object should be to be in the right. All the terms we had demanded had been substantially conceded, and if it was not for terms we fought but for military success, let the House look at this sentiment with the eye of reason and it

look at this sentiment with the eye of reason and it would appear immeral, inhuman and mehristian. If the war was continued in order to obtain military glory,

we should tempt the justice of Him in whose hands was the fate of armics to launch upon us His wrath.

Lord John Russell, after acknowledging the fairness with which Mr. Gladstone had argued the question, and coetrasting the spirit of his speech with that of Mr. Disraell's, observed that the question was whether or not the immediate danger being warded off, we were to seek security for the future, and, if so, in what that security should consist. Mr. Gladstone had seen in the preposition of Kussia upon the third article a fulfillment of it; but in his opinion to accept a security so fulfill and nugatory as that offered by Russia in both the first and second propositions would have been an attempt to deceive Europe in a manner quite unworthy of England and France. The Russian preponderance in the Black Sea was next to the Russian occapation of the Principalities, the greatest danger with which Turkey was threatened. He entered then upon a defence of his proceedings at the Conferences, in reply to Mr. Disraeli, observing that upon the Third Point it was necessary to consider the whole of the important question whether some bounds should not be put to the progress of Russia, and in what manuer—a difficult problem to solve, and concerning which he had conferred with high authorities. He drew a picture of the enormous power, secret and patent, of Russia, and of the influence she land gained over Turkey—influence, he observed, which, if prudently used, was sufficient to give to Russia a predominant control over the councils of the Porte. He justified the declaration which he had made at the Conference respecting the conditions to be natached to the Third Point—unmely, that the propositions should not only be compatible with the heart of the security of Constantinople, and that its rejection by Russia was a sure indication of her designs upon that city. It had been said that Austria had not given us all the support she might, but, as far as the Conferences went, she had supported the Allics. He could not say that Aust take part in the war, and he was sure that the part she had already played would never be forgotten by

Russia.

The debate was then adjourned and renewed next

lay, when Mr. Roundell Palmer, as an advocate for peace, re-Mr. Roundell Painer, as an advocate to peace, re-mudiated the allegation that his party counseled na-tional humiliation, and at the same time deprecated the appeals so unjustly made to the spirit of ven-geance or the vainglorious desire for military triumplas geance or the vaing iorious desire for military triumplis in order to stimulate the House and country to prospect the war. Laying down the principle that war could only be justifiable while it was waged for strictly defensive purposes, he remarked that neither Mr. Distaeli nor the Government, though opposed on all points to one another, had pretended to defend the war in its present plan upon that basis. The assumed object for which we contended, namely, the integrity of Parkey, was not to be secured by lighting, but by a renovation of the internal system of that empire and by educating the Turks into civilization, order and in-

lependence.

Lord Stanley apprehended that the real purpose and Lord Stanley apprehended that the real purpose and condition of the war were much misjudged. Nominally it was agreed that the war was altogether defensive, and designed merely to protect Turkey from aggression; but if this circumscribed object were realized by the public he doubted whether the military spirit deplayed now throughout the country would be long mantained. Yet what other object could we propose as the end of hostilities? We were not justified in embarking upon a war of nationalities; we had abjured the idea of dismembering or even crippling Russia. Nothing was before us to accomplish but to secure the independence of Turkey, except perhaps a vague distret to humble our adversory. After remarking at some length on the entanglements into which the country had been drawn, he declared his opinion that if the British Government had bodily spoken out at the beginning the war would never have broken out; and thinking that the charge of ambiguity and inconsistency had been established, he intended to vote for the revolution of Mr. Disraeli, as involving a distinct certain of the administration.

sistency had been established, he intended to vote for the resolution of Mr. Disraeli, as involving a distinct censure on the administration.

Mr. Layard in the course of some personal explanations stated that his own motion was delayed but not withdrawn, and would be brought forward on the first supply night after the recers. Briefly alluding to the origin of the war and to the capital mistakes committed at the outset, among which he included the ill-advised declaration that no retrenchment would be permitted from the territorial integrity of Russia, the honorable member passed on to the Conferences, and sketched the purport and the effect of the several points which there underwent discussion. Upon all the points he contended that our negotiator had been baffled and hoodwinked. On the First Point—the Principalities—be had consented to terms which allowed Russia and Austria to dominate over the internal administration of Servia and Wallachia. On the Second, which set free the navigation of the Dannbe, nothing was obtained except what Russia was already bound o concede by existing treaties. These points, he remarked, were supposed to have been satisfactorily rettled. On the Third Point—the abrogation of Rusian preponderance in the Black Sea—the Conferences were broken off; but from a minute review of the discussion, so far as it went, Mr. Layard concluded hat no concession had been wrung from Russia, and that Lord John Russell had altogether mistaken the import of past treaties and missed his way to a practical colution of the difficulty before him. He demounced the quintuple protectorate which it was preposed to establish in Turkey, declaring that both the Caristians and the

quintuple protectorate which it was proposed to establish in Turkey, declaring that both the Christians and the Moslem population would wither under our disastrous protection. If the propositions of the Western Powers had been at once accepted he pointed out that Turkey would have here declared.

Moslem population would wither under our disastrous protection. If the propositions of the Western Powers had been at once accepted he pointed out that Turkey would have been deeply injured and the ambitious views of Russia as largely advanced. Turning to the existing state of affairs, he arged that at the present moment the belligerent powers had suffered enormous sacrifices on all sides, leaving to Austria the wholy profit, accompanied by none of the loss sustained in the contest. We were now committed to the cause, and could not draw back without sacrificing the honor of England in Europe and the prestige which held to gether the British Empire in the East. Alluding to the speech of Lord John Russell, he eulogized the promise of vigor and administrative reform which it contained, but could find no proof that it expressed the sincere and united conviction of the Cabinent. Denouncing half and half measures, Mr. Layard complained that nothing like a definite and consistent purpose was apparent on either side of the House. The country, he believed, was heartily weary of vacillation and imbecility, and sick, not of the war, but of those who had conducted it so inefliciently.

Lord Palmerston arged that the motion which had been proposed to the House represented very inadequately the great question which they were called upon to discuss. A Government at such a crisis should be judged by its conduct, but the present resolutions dwelt upon nothing but its language, which was stigmatized as being inconsistent and ambiguous. Deny, ing the justice of this charge in the abstract, he accepted the motion as a vote of censure, and challenged the judgment of Parliament on the issue. Passing to the general question, Lord Palmerston observed that it was now unnecessary to vindicate the justice of the war or the policy by which it was commenced. Confersing the existence of some imperfections, and the conduct of the war, especially as regarded the Crimess expedition and the management of the negotiations, in which he observed n and armies, and reduced their military establisto the ordinary scale of quiet times. The Gove were carrying on the contest with vigor and a far prospect of success. It was not, he submitted, in the ranks of the opposition that the country would fall Ministers better fitted for the great work. But whatever might be the texture of the administration, he was convinced that the heart of the pation was an

was convinced that the hears of the war.

Mr. Disraeli replied, contending that the amendments upon his motion emannting from sides of the house, and especially the contession had been extorted from the Prime Minister. 

GORCHAKOFF'S SIEGE REPORT.

The Invalide Russe publishes the following report from Prince Gorchakoff, dated the 5th of May:

The enemy, making extraordinary efforts, and the control of t